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Allies, Mistrustful of Greece, Said to Bypass It in Decisions

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PARIS, July 9 — In the three years since Andreas Papandreou became the Prime Minister of Greece, the Western alliances have developed a wariness about Greece's often antagonistic role on security matters and antiterrorist policy.

This wariness, diplomats and officials say, has ranged from moderate concern to deep suspicion.

The informants, who work with Greek delegates within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Economic Community, said that Greece had been advancing positions widely regarded as anti-Western. The resulting distrust, in turn, is said to have led to an attempt to limit Greece's role in sensitive discussions without actually isolating it.

According to intelligence sources, long before the United States accused Greece two weeks ago of being lax on terrorism, France had charged that Greece was allowing an Armenian terrorist organization to run its political operations from Athens. This was denied by Greece.

Incident at Cologne Talks

The previously undisclosed exchange came last year at an internal security conference in Cologne, West Germany, and was one of the developments that raised concern about Greek policies. A Western official said that one of the factors behind a French-led effort to reinvigorate the Western European Union, the European pillar of the Atlantic alliance, was that Greece was not a member of the organization and could not play a disruptive role.

Common Market officials said that Greece's refusal to criticize some Soviet actions, such as the downing of a South Korean airliner last September, had compromised hopes for political unity within the European Community.

Other officials say there are differences between some of Greece's public statements and its actual conduct of foreign policy. They point out that Greece renewed an agreement on United States bases, did not seek to block NATO funding agreements, and has continued cooperation, notably with the United States and France, in developing an arms industry.

An Estimate of Greek Attitudes

A high-level official of a Western European government said:

"You have varying attitudes within Europe about Mr. Papandreou's show. The range is from those who consider it a very serious pain in the neck to those who consider the Papandreou operation a major problem, and regard it as deeply involved with the Soviet Union and Libya.

"The continuing assumption, however, is that Greek concern about Turkey is real, even if we regard it as exaggerated, and that it is not entirely propaganda, that Greece considers the Turks a greater problem than the Soviets. Most of Europe also believes that Greece understands its interests are best represented through being part of the West, and that this factor will predominate, regardless of what Mr. Papandreou may say."

The Greek Prime Minister, who in the past has referred favorably to the Soviet Union as a force for peace and has depicted the latest base agreement as one that will soon phase out the American presence, recently described the United States as "the expansionist Mecca of imperialism."

At NATO meetings, the Greeks have become known as "the asterisks," because they ask for footnotes in communiqués dissociating them from criticism of the Soviet Union on such issues, as Poland, Afghanistan, the military build-up, development of medium-range missiles and human rights.

Greece Opposed Turks' Buildup

This year, Greece sought to veto NATO's approval of Turkish plans for developing its armed forces that included procurement of modernized missiles for use against shipping. The attempt was described as the first time that one ally attempted to stop a second from improving its forces. Greece was eventually ruled out of order, alliance sources said.

Concern about Greece's attitudes has not meant its actual exclusion from any groups. Instead there has been an increase in separate gatherings among allies who are comfortable with each other's positions.

An expert on NATO affairs said the regular meetings of the alliance's intelligence committee, whose information comes largely from the United States, Britain and West Germany, has become less informative in view of Greece's presence.

Under Mr. Papandreou, Greece has taken its distance from the deployment

of the new medium-range missiles in Western Europe and has pressed for a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, a proposal NATO regards as one that diverts attention from what it considers the Soviet arms buildup targeted on other members of the alliance.

Western European officials said the pattern of avoiding the Greeks was also apparent in dealing with terrorism. Greece is not formally associated with the Club of Bern, a group of internal security chiefs from nine Western European countries. Nor is Greece a member of a grouping, known as the Council of Five, or the Vienna Club, that brings together the antiterrorist commands of France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria and West Germany.

According to intelligence sources, the French accusation that Greece was disregarding the Armenian terrorist group, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, led to Greek denials that the group had a political headquarters in Athens.

United States officials have called Greece a "terrorist haven," and assert that the Athens Government has ignored information about terrorists operating in Greece.

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